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ABSTRACT

This volume presents an analysis of relationships among theory and research of and applications for the education of troubled youth and the specific program efforts in three Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects. General issues are presented to be used as guidelines to prepare readers for individualized analysis of the case studies and the literature reviews which are contained in Volumes III and IV of this training packet. Four issues are identified as being of chief concern to the experience of participating in a Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Project: (1) community involvement in enhancing opportunities for troubled youth; (2) the relevance of project sites to youth advocacy concerns and the establishment of continuous support systems; (3) school and alternative learning settings; and (4) correctional facilities and group homes. In each of these areas of concern, general issues are presented and are referred to both the case studies and the review of literature. In analyzing each issue area, a synthesized explanation of the underlying theories and applications which have relevance to the issue is given. Specific components and activities of the Youth Advocacy Projects which refer to these issues are discussed. The second part of this volume contains two critical reviews which suggest different areas of emphasis in issues, theoretical basis for programs, future program efforts, and further research. (JD)

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TEACHER CORPS

YOUTH ADVOCACY TRAINING RESOURCE

Volume II
Analysis

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Office of Education Research and Improvement
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was prepared for

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I. INTRODUCTION

This volume presents an analysis of the relationship between the theory, research, and applications reviewed in Volume IV and the specific program efforts in the three Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects visited. An analysis of the review of literature itself follows, written by two educators.

The volume of analysis is included at this point in the Youth Advocacy Training Resource to prepare readers for their own analysis of issues based on their experiences in Teacher Corps Projects. General areas of issues are given here. It is intended that readers will use these as guidelines to prepare for an individualized analysis of the case studies and the review of literature which come in Volumes III and IV respectively.

A. The Relationship between Theory and Practice in the Youth Advocacy Projects

In analyzing the issues which emerged from the theoretical review and from the case studies, it became clear that four broad issue areas are of chief concern to the experience of participating in a Youth Advocacy Project. These areas are:

- Community Involvement in Enhancing Opportunities for Troubled Youth
- Site Participation--General
- Site Participation--The Nature of Sites
  - School and Alternative Learning Settings
  - Correctional Facilities and Group Homes
- Personnel in Youth-Serving Institutions

These issue areas organize the analysis. In each area, general issues are presented which are referenced to both the case studies and the review of literature. In the body of the analysis in each issue area, a synthe-

sized explanation of the underlying theories and applications which have relevance to the issues is given. Then specific examples of components and activities of Youth Advocacy Projects which refer to these issues are discussed.

Since the purpose of the analysis is to lay a groundwork for the readers' continued consideration of the materials, each section is followed with a summary which leads into a series of questions. These questions refer to the issues presented in the analysis. They are intended to promote further discussion and questions drawing upon the readers' experiences.

B. Critical Reviews

The second part of the analysis volume contains two critical reviews written by Dr. Michael Nelson of the Department of Special Education at the University of Kentucky and Dr. Alanson Van Fleet of the College of Education at the University of Tennessee.

Guidelines for the reviewers indicated they should address the following areas of concern from the review of literature and applications: (1) the theory: the importance of what the theories are saying about the education of troubled youth, the application of the theories to policy making, to an analysis of present programs and to future planning efforts; (2) the issues: the importance of the issues identified and location of emphasis; and (3) further research: identification of areas of research, formulation of research questions, suggested methods for further research. The critical reviews do not address the technical preparation of the review of literature. This was a contribution of the reviewers in their capacity as review panel members.

Each critical reviewer suggests different areas of emphasis in issues, theoretical basis for programs, future program efforts, and further research which is indicated by the state of the art.

Dr. Nelson discusses the concept "that delinquency arises in a complex social milieu." He defines delinquency broadly as manifestations of varied disordered behaviors which bring youth into contact with the law.

Dr. Nelson introduces another theoretical perspective which is not presented in the review of literature--an ecological theory. His review emphasizes that a focus on a change of social milieu can combine effectively the technology of individual behavior change based in applied behavioral analysis with the ecological perspective which analyzes the context in which the behavior of the delinquent occurs. Analyzing the behavior and its environment and planning efforts to change both in situ, permits the control of behavior of others in the social environment.

Dr. Nelson highlights the following issues as important in the programs and research on the education of troubled youth:

- Effects of labeling to include youth in special programs and to exclude them from others whose services they do need
- Multiagency coordination
- Comparison of effectiveness of segregated versus integrated treatment programs
- Community involvement in education
- Pre- and Inservice teacher training
- Generalization and maintenance of behavior
- Evaluation of programs.

Dr. Van Fleet suggests an integration of theories as the background for understanding the process of becoming delinquent and for defining treatment programs. He presents an analysis of theories of identificaton, socialization, and marginalization and draws implications for an integrated treatment approach. Dr. Van Fleet indicates the problems that come with this kind of approach: the tension over whether to make social change from within the status quo or by transformation of status quo and the kind of

social and economic climate which exists to support reform in educational settings for troubled youth. He calls attention to a need for a strong theoretical base to program implementation.

II. ISSUE AREAS

A. Community Involvement In Enhancing Opportunities For Troubled Youth

Issues: Relationship between community needs and youth opportunties
Preparation of community members for effective participation

Case Study Reference: Community Council and Policy Board

Theoretical Review Reference: The Individual in Interaction with Social Institutions:

- Legitimate Opportunity
- Norm Diversity
- Affiliation
- Youth Development
- Just Community

1. Referenced Theories. The theories of blocked opportunity (Merton, Cloward and Ohlin, Polk, Ogbu), norm diversity (Phillips, Sutherland, Ogbu), and attachment (Polk, Hirschi) are particularly relevant in a discussion of the involvement of community members in the education of troubled youth. School is looked to by the community as the mechanism for the socialization of youth to conventional adult roles and the development of skills to achieve desirable social goals. However, school segregates groups of learners who are less successful, limiting their opportunities for achievement of those goals. When looking for more successful mechanisms for this achievement, youth sometimes find support among parents and peers in the community whose view of the competencies needed to become successful in society conflict with those held by administrators of the school attended by their youth.

In order to encourage youth to remain in school and use that mechanism for opportunity, parents have to believe that it will prepare their youth

for equal opportunities in the real world. Involvement by parents in the school governance, curriculum selection, and relationship to other conventional institutions may be influential in the areas of: 1) closing the gap between parent theories of socialization and those of the school, yielding more realistic preparation of all youth for adult roles; and 2) opening up possibilities for youth in community activities and work experience related to schooling, expanding the range of contexts in which youth may develop a stake and therefore be willing to work for the enhancement of opportunities for themselves and for other youth.

2. Referenced Applications. Efforts to apply these theories have been described in the form of youth development and youth participation and in the participation of parents in the governance of secondary schools. The Looking Glass, Inc. project in Eugene, Oregon is an example of the active participation of a community in defining needs and seeking assistance from youth to develop ties with the community and investment in its functioning. The Just Community concept--as applied in the Cluster School in Cambridge, Massachusetts--is representative of the involvement of the parents of students in making decisions about the school's governance, curriculum, and relationship to other conventional institutions of socialization.

Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects are applying the principles of community involvement in the key features of the Community Council and Policy Board. The Policy Board presents an opportunity for integrated decision-making about the settings in which youth are educated by seeking representatives from these institutions participating in the project and asking them to work together for the enhancement of opportunities and services for youth. Representatives to the Policy Board from the Community Council with voting power may be parents or non-parent community members. The possibilities for communication and influence on individual institutions are numerous.

If the integration of decision-makers can work for the management of the project, theoretically it should be sustainable for the community institu-

tions once Federal funds are terminated. Yet, project directors in the three projects visited report that the most difficult feature of the Teacher Corps Program to accomplish is an institutionalized integration of services, people, and resources. The success of this Policy Board application seems to be related to the resources each participating institution stands to gain.

In Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects, Community Councils have identified needs in the community related to education of youth and of community members and have developed and managed programs which are appropriate. For example, the Kanawha County/West Virginia University Project has established an extensive peer tutoring program run by the Community Council Chairperson, interns, and parents in a community center. The youth who are served come from project site schools and are involved in tutoring their classmates as well. The project has developed a videotape which describes how to recruit and train volunteers for tutoring in order to promote adaptation of this system. The Community Council has also sponsored a Community Forum, an evening in which social service agency representatives made themselves available to members of the community to broaden the community's awareness of the variety and use of services for their youth.

Members of Community Councils could benefit from training in several areas. Most members want to know more about how the school works, how to negotiate with a policy-making body, how to be an effective group, how the services in their community help youth who are in trouble. There seems to be a particular need for training of parents who are Council members. Many are not familiar with the process of accomplishing change in a community through a Federal program. Parents want to know how to represent the project to the rest of the community. Parents need information about how school systems and juvenile justice systems collaborate concerning their youth in trouble. Parents want to know how their participation on the Council will enhance their right to participate in teacher review and review of school testing and attendance policies.

In general, the Community Council seems to need more than one planning year to develop as an effective body. The election of members is cumbersome. Once the members begin meeting, there is frequent turnover. The members are often at different levels of awareness about the Council's goals and activities. Hiring a consultant who works in an ongoing relationship with a Community Council, attending all meetings and giving consistent feedback, is helpful in the development of the Council.

The University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Community Council has an ongoing relationship with a consultant experienced in participatory community groups. This consultant observes and advises the Council on their process of working together. This also has an effect on their accomplishment of task objectives when clearly and realistically defined goals are a result. Another means of preparing to become involved in enhancing opportunities for youth is to exchange Councils. The Maine project has also done this. This exchange visit promotes an understanding of problems of being a member of an effective Council and an understanding of the problems of youth in different communities.

The Community Services Coordinator works with the Council. If used wisely, this person can be instrumental in informing other members of the community who are not participants on the Council about the project. The idea of locating this Coordinator's office in a community building and at the project staff offices maximizes this potential, as at the University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Project.

The Coordinator also works with the interns and the project staff. When there is conflict between the views of the Coordinator's responsibilities by the Council and the project staff there could be confusion which detracts from the Council's effectiveness within the project. The effectiveness of the Coordinator seems to depend on the precision of the job description and the efforts of the director to negotiate this position with the Council and staff. The Services Coordinator has to have assistance from the staff and the Council in defining responsibilities in the area of interns' community involvement activities, for example.

If there are conflicting desires of the Council and the opportunities which are available for the interns, the Council's expectations may not be realized. A Council may favor increased contact with parents by the project's interns. Interns need approval of their assigned schools in order to carry this out. The gap between what is possible and what is desirable may be too large to be bridged by the interns, even with the support of the Coordinator. Also, mututal agreement by staff and Community Council about evaluation of the Coordinator's participation is essential.

The Community Council's impact on schools and other conventional institutions in its community is limited by the fact that it is established through a temporary Federal grant. The grant provides for the establishment of an organization--the Council--whose duties are already being shared by other institutionalized organizations such as the PTA, the Parent Advisory Councils. The Council may identify needs and, after developing a plan to provide a kind of service--for example a day-care center--find that it will be competing for limited State funds with those centers already established. Further, although some community institutions and groups have agreed to participate in the project, others may not be equally supportive. It is therefore difficult to sustain membership and encourage the participation of those who have never joined such a group and are reluctant to give up their time.

The participation of youth on the Council should be an important focus of Council efforts, especially in a program with a theoretical base in Youth Development. The University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Project has encouraged this participation. Two high school students are active at Council meetings and on task forces. While not representative of youth in trouble, these students are making an effort to represent the concerns of secondary school students.

3. Summary. Community involvement in the education of youth in school and in the community is encouraged by those theorists describing troubled behavior as a response to lack of opportunities for involvement and achievement of conventional goals. Applications of this theory have

brought parents and youth into equal governance with practitioners of schools and community members into a partnership with youth to identify legitimate opportunities for development.

Youth Advocacy Projects use the mechanism of integrated and representative organizations, such as a Policy Board and Community Council, to educate and involve the community in all aspects of the education of troubled youth. The problems with definition of goals, stability of membership, and effectiveness of groups have been discussed in this section and are the topics of the questions which follow.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How are the activities of the Community Council directly related to the project's objectives?

2. In what ways should/could the Community Council be involved in the daily operations of the project? To what benefit?

3. In what ways could/should project staff be directly involved in the activities of the Council? To what benefit?

4. What can members of the Council offer to troubled youth that other program participants can not? How?

5. Other than through the establishment of a Community Council, how can the project tap community resources which could contribute to the overall goals of the project?

6. What are the problems and benefits associated with involving the community in the educational system or process?

7. In order to enhance awareness and concern for the problems and needs of troubled youth, what persons, groups, and institutions must be enlisted? How?

8. What elements (structural, interpersonal, etc.) must be inherent in a project to insure an effective and useful relationship between the Community Council/Policy Board and project staff and participants?

9. Describe the ideal composition of a Community Council and explain your selections in terms of background, current position in community, occupation, affiliation with the local education community, etc.

10. Describe the ideal Policy Board composition and justify your selections as in number 9 above.

11. How can Community Council and Policy Board members be encouraged to continue their membership and active involvement?

12. For what and to whom are the Council and Board accountable?

13. How should youth from the project be involved in the Community Council and Policy Board?

14. What is the best way to represent the Council's views on the Policy Board? Who should be representing the Council? How many votes should the Council have?

15. How are Council members being trained to enhance their group's effectiveness in the project?

B. Site Participation

Issues: The relevance of project sites to youth advocacy concerns
Establishment of contiguous support systems

Case Study Reference: Description of Project Sites

Theoretical Review Reference: The Individual in Interaction with Social Institutions:

- Negative Labeling
- Affiliation
- School as a Social System
- Altering the Social Structure by Intervening with the Peer Culture
- Educational Programs with Curricular and Structural Changes

The Individual's Behavior:

- Applications of Behavior Management
- Research on Programs using Behavior Management Techniques

1. Referenced Theories. According to theories of negative labeling (Polk, Becker) and attachment (Hirschi, Johnson et al.), troubled behavior may elicit stereotypic responses to troubled youth in school and in the juvenile justice system. These responses contribute to decreased opportunities for participation and success in school by the youth. The lack of ties to school as a conventional institution leaves a youth vulnerable for more troubled behavior.

All youth face periods of transition in their secondary schooling from junior high school (or middle school) to senior high school. In addition youth who are troubled who have been in correctional facilities, group

homes, or alternative educational programs must face negative responses of peers and educational personnel when they make a transition from one setting to another. These theories indicate three areas of concern for personnel involved in such a transition:

- Careful consideration must be given to the use of information and nature of information that is to be shared between settings.

- Youth coming back to school from correctional facilities and alternative programs should not be restricted from academic and social activities.

- An effort should be made to change the tendancy of the juvenile justice system to control access to "illegitimate identities" (Polk) of youth. An effort should be made to relate the institutions and personnel of juvenile justice to those of education and the control processes which help maintain conformity in that conventional institution: commitment, attachment, involvement, and belief.

Additionally, if individual behavior change is one component of a treatment program in a correctional facility, the theories indicate that support systems are necessary to maintain this new behavior and to follow-through to enhance long-term success. Therefore, project sites should establish some system which informs and prepares personnel in schools, recreation facilities, law enforcement, and community agencies who are likely to come into contact with a youth in transition.

2. Referenced Applications. The review of literature indicated how little collaboration in relationships there has been between efforts in schools, alternative educational programs, and correctional programs for troubled youth. The mandate of Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects is to establish such a quality of collaboration and provide continuing support for personnel development in related sites to enhance similarity in responses to troubled youth in transition.

The University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Project has established a support system for youth in transition from the Maine Youth Center to school districts throughout the State. The Maine Youth Center has chosen to train all of its personnel in Reality Therapy. In addition they realize the importance of continuing this approach once youth have left the Center. Therefore, they have planned, and are in the process of carrying out, a training model which includes aftercare workers, the juvenile intake workers in school districts, parents, community agency personnel, and recreation workers.

In order to make the transfer of information comprehensive, relevant, and nonstigmatizing, the Maine Youth Center educational personnel are working on a transfer of information form and procedures for re-entry with the junior high school and senior high school principals.

Similiarly, in the group homes which are also participants in this project, there is an effort underway to make contiguous the application of Positive Peer Culture in an educational program for emotionally disturbed youth and in the group home where they reside.

One strategy for promoting collaboration on treatment goals and methods between site personnel and personnel in other youth serving institutions is to install a trainer in the institution to coordinate uniform training of personnel as in the Maine Youth Center. Another vehicle for change, collaboration, and training is to train a team of personnel representative of the role groups in the institution to address change needs as they appear critical. This group is trained to be masters of the change process, which includes identifying ad hoc groups to support the changes.

The Arizona State University Youth Advocacy Project has undertaken this kind of training for four School Improvement Teams. These teams consist of persons who are directly associated with a school who are concerned with youth: teachers, the principal, counselors, social workers, parents, students, and the student intern who is assigned to that school. The teams are involved in a process of organizational development skills training:

team development, the design of and implementation of program planning, the management of program development, and involvement in policy development. The goal of the training is to provide a group of people who have a stake in the educational process with the capacity to help the institution change in many areas.

In the area of relationships of schools to correctional and alternative facilities, the School Improvement Teams can address issues of transition, contiguous support systems, transfer of information, and limiting referrals to the juvenile justice system. The teams are concerned with reducing pushouts, modifying policies and procedures which limit educational opportunities for youth, and establishing innovative programs for youth requiring special assistance. Teams at both the high school and at the Bostrom Alternative Center for Education (BACE) could identify ways to work together for youth in transition. This would especially be helpful to youth who come to BACE from the juvenile detention center or return to the detention center from BACE. Such collaboration would involve eliciting participation from the community, from the probation officers who work with the youth, and from the personnel in the two educational settings. Unfortunately, the constraints of economic and political policies could work against this effort. The high school is slated for closing and the alternative center may also lose its building lease. This diverts the focus of the efforts of both teams from youth advocacy concerns to the issues of transition and support raised above.

While the Youth Advocacy Projects do contain school sites in addition to alternative programs and corrections settings, the youth from one site do not necessarily feed into the other. Especially in rural communities, it is not always possible to engage the participation of both the correctional facility and the high school to which the largest number of youthful offenders return. Thus the impact of this issue is not being fulfilled. Further, choosing a therapeutic modality which requires the use of groups or support within the community through knowledge of the treatment poses these problems. First, the training of the segments of the community required indicates widespread and deep commitment. Many members of a

community would just rather not deal with troubled youth. For others who care, limited resources will increase the time it takes to reach them. Meanwhile, youth who do not have this support to sustain them in transition, will likely fall back on other sources of support, including similar troubled behavior which will gain the regard of some of their peers. Finally, youth who do not have this support from personnel in school will likely be stigmatized by others for having participated in such a treatment program which is so "different" from their own conventional educational experience.

In order to encourage collaboration among participating institutions, the project staff must maintain communication between all. The location of the project's offices can facilitate communication with the participating IHE or LEA. Locating a project's offices at the IHE brings the team leader and interns in close contact with University faculty, especially in the areas of scheduling and independent projects. Yet the LEA personnel may object to the isolation of project staff at the IHE. Locating the offices at the LEA sites keeps the director in close contact with school and school system administrators. However, this has an effect of maintaining the isolation of university faculty in academia. Since one purpose of the project is to bring the university faculty into close collaboration with practitioners, the project staff must work hard to forge this connection, bringing academicians and practitioners to each other's setting.

3. Summary. A Youth Advocacy Project must include among its sites both secondary schools and educational settings which serve troubled youth. This brings up the question of communication and collaboration among sites in order to assist youth in transition from one to another and to alter stereotypic labeling. Theorists and researchers agree that contiguous support systems are necessary to maintain behavior change achieved in one setting without the stigma of negative labeling.

While this is a goal of the Youth Advocacy Projects, the achievement is hindered by the difficulty in effecting change in system procedures and in the training of personnel across sites. The collaboration of sites

involves physical collaboration as well as commitment. The project staff is responsible for supporting this contact and assuring its relationship to the goals of the project.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Discuss confidentiality as it relates to troubled youth and their involvement and transition between special programs/contexts. Under what conditions is it a positive/negative factor?

2. What sites should be participating in a Youth Advocacy Project?

3. What kind of communication network could be established between sites to serve the needs of the youth, the service providers, and appropriate others? Discuss ways of maintaining this network, incentives, and theories of integration of services.

4. How does the relationship between the IHE and the community affect the success of the project and opportunities available to the staff and youth?

5. How important is it for the program to be located all in one locality, i.e., IHE, project office, and sites all in one community? What are the advantages and disadvantages in terms of Teacher Corps goals?

6. What are the advantages and disadvantages in focusing project operations on a single treatment modality or philosophy?

7. Discuss advantages/disadvantages of having the local project office at the IHE or the LEA.

C. The Nature Of Sites

School and Alternative Learning Settings

Issues: Features inhibiting opportunities for youth in secondary schools
Characteristics of successful alternative educational programs
Segregated programs or changes in secondary schools

Case Study Reference: Site Description

Theoretical Review Reference: The Individual in Interaction with Social Institutions:

- School as a Social System
- Negative Labeling
- Norm Diversity
- Legitimate Opportunity
- Educational Programs with Curricular and Structural Changes
- Youth Advocacy, Student Initiated Activities
- Youth Advocacy, Altering System Responses

The Individual's Behavior:

- School Responses

1. Referenced Theories. There are a number of characteristics of the structure and function of secondary schools which theorists have identified as instrumental in stimulating conflict for youth:

- Support for the norms of the majority culture
- Reliance on coersion

- Lack of involvement of youth in decision-making
- Impersonality of school environment and alienation by teachers
- Inconsistent rule application
- Tracking system
- Lack of connection between work realities and experiences in school
- Emphasis on verbal tasks
- Segregation of youth with learning problems
- Lack of relevant curriculum, lack of challenge in school work
- Emphasis on achievement as the key to success in school activities
- Development of youth competence, instead of adult competence
- Use of suspensions, expulsions
- Lack of contact with parents
- Lack of parental involvement.

The relationship of these characteristics to troubled behavior is explained in theories of subcultural norm diversity (Polk, Phillips, Ogbu), compliance (Thomas, Kreps, and Cage; Duke), cognitive dissonance (Rutherford), negative labeling (Polk, Becker), and blocked opportunity (Cloward and Ohlin, Ogbu, Rist, Polk).

The widespread support among school personnel for the norms and values of one culture, especially the majority culture, may lead to youth alliance with another for acceptance and the accomplishment of personal goals. The feelings of alienation and powerlessness experienced through lack of opportunities for involvement in decision-making may result in negative affect towards teachers, unfavorable evaluation of goals of the school, and resistance to involvement in school functions. This alienates youth even more from the mainstream of activities and can be followed by negative labeling by other peers and school personnel, leaving the youth vulnerable to troubled behavior.

School performs a gatekeeping function in the preparation of tracks of students for college, vocational programs, and unskilled labor. When youth

realize the gap between the competencies they need to be successful outside of school and the jobs for which they are being prepared, they may rebel against the school. Therefore, the curriculum should be relevant both to adolescent concerns--such as parenting--and to experiences outside of school for which credit may be obtained.

In addition, if alternative programs are offered, there should be nonstigmatized recruitment of youth. Frequently, alternative education programs are established to serve youth excluded from conventional settings. These are youth who fit into the classification of troubled: dropouts, truants, emotionally disturbed, adjudicated youth. The distinction between being referred to programs and being allowed to apply for and choose alternatives to expand one's educational opportunities is a key one in preventing negative labeling. Theorists suggest that more effective strategies would be aimed at integrating all learners in an educational program that is relevant and participatory, or providing publicly financed alternatives for all youth.

Opening the areas of school functioning to youth participation encourages the development of decision-making skills. Some theorists suggest that it is lack of knowledge of how to process information, relate it to one's values, and determine consequences, which lead youth to avoid making their own decisions or to making poor ones. School typically does not encourage youth participation in rule making or curriculum development. Rules are not consistently enforced and teachers and administrators do not coordinate their efforts in this area. Since achievement is emphasized as the key to success in school, students must accept constraints, putting off goals until they have reached this standard. Yet school work frequently does not match the level of student ability. Unchallenging work does little to develop the application of intrinsic motivation to school achievement, but does much to develop its application to troubled behavior as a response to the control exercised by the school administration.

Alternative educational programs try to eliminate many of the characteristics noted above in order to avoid contributing to the processes which

are antecedents to troubled behavior. For example, alternatives try to include youth in decision-making, encourage informality between teachers and students, keep the class size small so individualized instruction is possible, look at behavior problems as opportunities for growth, make available substantial support services, seek to develop the self-esteem of its students, and relate work experiences to school curriculum.

Alternative educational programs have their drawbacks also. They segregate youth who have behavior problems from other youth, thus stereotyping a youth's academic career. If a youth participating in one of these then returns to school, he is often without the support of the small and closely-knit staff and student body. These problems are also relevant to alternatives to suspension programs.

There has been increased use of in-school alternatives to suspension by schools in order to reduce the number of students who are expelled, suspended, or released for breaking rules. Some of these alternatives are strictly punishment periods, with academic work required of students. Others are oriented towards counseling youth or requiring their participation in an organized course in behavior change. The problem with these alternatives is that they do not look at the structure of the school and the interactions with school personnel as contributing to troubled behavior. When youth are returned to regular school activities they may not have access to follow-through services, besides the regular counseling services in a school which are constantly in demand.

2. Referenced Applications. Efforts to provide alternatives to the structure of school and to make changes within the structure of school have met with varying success. The literature shows that, most frequently, instead of changing the existing structure, proponents of change establish an alternative one. For example, the Cluster School in Cambridge, Massachusetts was established through the help of parents, teachers, counselors, and students. It is an application of moral development theory through the use of participatory democracy in decision-making, rule enforcement, and the integration of the technique of moral discussions

in the curriculum. The Career Intern Program and Goal Assistance Programs are alternatives to schooling for dropouts and youth in transition to the job market. Both offer informal environments and opportunities for youth participation in program development, which seeks to give credit for youth work-experience while encouraging study and improvement in more conventional areas of the secondary school curriculum.

The Student Initiated Activities program, which was supported by an interagency agreement with Teacher Corps and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, was one effort to change the lack of involvement of youth in decision-making in the secondary school. The projects participating in this grant supported efforts at the secondary school sites to organize youth and encourage them to plan initiatives benefitting the school and the community and applicable to institutionalization. Some projects taught youth how to become involved in such activity through course work. The problems experienced in this effort included the resistance of some principals to permitting youth to become involved in governance and curriculum development. A concern was expressed that this would weaken the control of the functioning of the school held by the principal.

In those Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects visited, site programs for troubled youth have been separated from secondary school sites in the form of advocacy centers or alternative education centers. Other efforts, such as one-time special events, have been held at secondary school sites. The Bostrom Alternative Center for Education (BACE) is one current Youth Advocacy site in the Arizona State University Project. The Center tries to eliminate the impersonality of large campus high schools and alienation of students by teachers by selecting teachers who are committed to a humanistic philosophy of learning. The students do not have opportunities for participation in the governance of the school. However, they are participants on the School Improvement Team, which is being trained to approach problems in the Center, including governance, curriculum, and parent involvement. The Center applies consistent rule enforcement of a small number of rules such as: no fighting on the school grounds. The small size of BACE assures students of individualized instruction. Teams of

teachers, consisting of one regular and one special education teacher, work with students. Students are not identified as special education students, thus lessening the impact of a stigmatizing situation.

Students come to BACE from the county detention center, from alternative community-based treatment centers, and from the public schools. They are involved in a two-week orientation during which they are tested for placement and given an opportunity to express themselves creatively in writing. Three program options include: 1) preparation for the high school diploma and the possibility of transferring to the home school for graduation; 2) preparation for the GED; and 3) Life Skills, an individualized program in modules which helps youth develop essential skills to living and taking care of themselves and assists them in identifying job choices without the benefit of a diploma or GED. The school hopes to incorporate the design and content of Life Skills within the other program components.

A waiting list of students, and reports that some youth were dropping out of school in hopes of attending, indicates the popularity of BACE. Students at BACE describe the teachers as "friends" who care. This is frequently the response of youth who have found a successful alternative to the structure of a large impersonal high school. The teachers are deeply involved in all aspects of their students' lives. Teaching in the morning makes it possible to use their afternoons to make home visits and counsel or participate in staffing meetings. These meetings are called to organize staff to best meet student needs.

The Kanawha County/West Virginia University Youth Advocacy Project has cooperated in an effort to change a school's response to troubled behavior. An Alternative Learning Center (ALC), an in-school alternative to suspension, has been established in both the senior and junior high schools and has been adopted by other schools in the project area. A discipline committee consisting of teachers, counselors, and administrators recommends assignment to the ALC. Students may be assigned for up to five days, earning early release by earning points for specified behaviors. The philosophy of the ALC is that of punishment. This is achieved by segregation

from the social and academic activities of the school. Students are required to work each hour on specific content-related classwork with a teacher who is assigned to the ALC according to content area expertise.

At the outset of the program there was no counseling for the students in the ALC and no special skill preparation for the teachers assigned there. At the present, interns from the Teacher Corps project have been assigned to the ALC as part of their internship for one hour, twice a week. Interns, counselors, and teachers will be assisted in their interaction with ALC students by the Project Director. The Director plans to use the training materials developed as part of the Positive Alternatives to Student Suspensions (PASS) Program, a nationally validated program developed through the Pinellas County, Florida pupil personnel services demonstration project in St. Petersburg, Florida.

This training program is prepared for personnel who will work with students whose behavior could lead to suspension. It involves teaching students the principles of transactional analysis, and trains them to participate in school in socially and academically appropriate ways. It shows students how to apply these same principles in their interactions at home. Youth meet in groups, participate in role playing of difficult interactions, and are assigned tasks, such as complimenting the teacher, to complete successfully. The emphasis in the group sessions is on youth taking responsibility for changing behavior in the classroom and at home. Conferences with parents, teachers, and administrators are held when possible and groups may be organized for these persons also.

The Kanawha County/West Virginia University Youth Advocacy Project is serving youth from many cultures. The project is particularly concerned with raising the awareness of school personnel about positive aspects of cultural differences. In this regard, two interns at Roosevelt Junior High School organized and managed a Black Heritage week. The enthusiastic participation of youth and teachers, counselors and administrators culminated in five assemblies in which black professionals from the Charleston community spoke to the student body about achievement of goals and oppor-

tunities for youth. The special event has stimulated a continuing interest of the youth in the school to learn about cultural differences and participate in activities related to the process of learning about them.

Literature and empirical data demonstrates how difficult it is to change a conventional school or integrate the successful characteristics of alternative educational programs in conventional learning settings. The Teacher Corps projects have discovered this to be the case also, as is evidenced by efforts in alternative educational programs which exist outside of school sites and one time special events concerning education that is multicultural. Of course the hope is that sparking the awareness and expanding the knowledge of school personnel will lead them to taking charge of institutionalization efforts once the Teacher Corps projects have been eliminated. Yet, without establishing some stable base of supportive and knowledgeable personnel, it is hard to imagine that this will be the result.

One way to approach changes in the structure and function of school is being introduced in the Arizona State University Youth Advocacy Project. As described above, the School Improvement Teams are looking at the areas of school climate, standardized testing, tracking, and parent involvement in light of the concerns of each community and the school which it supports. Each team will have different responses to suggest to problems of school crime, opportunities for successful educational experiences, collaboration with community and juvenile justice services and curriculum changes. In order to work on such a team its members have to be knowledgeable about how a school works and how a student's behavior is seen in the context of the school as a social system.

Charging the team with responsibility for the change process may be an effective way of overcoming resistance of role groups to changes in the structure of school. Changes which require additional training of personnel and collaboration with role groups in community agencies and the juvenile justice system are likely to be opposed. When role groups participate in the decisions about training they have a stake in successful accomplishment of objectives.

3. Summary. A review of research and theory has shown that certain features of schools hinder development for all youth. The school's support for the norms of the majority culture, exclusion of groups of youth from involvement due to behavioral characteristics and learning problems, and preparation of youth for certain tracks lead to lack of involvement of all youth in school activities and lack of support for the school's goals and rules.

Alternative programs are one answer and have been used to try to alleviate these characteristics of the structure and policies of conventional secondary schools. At the same time, alternative programs are usually established outside the conventional school, their recruitment of youth may be stigmatizing, they segregate youth with certain characteristics from others in conventional settings, and when youth leave the alternative programs they return to a setting which has no support system for maintaining their behavior.

Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects have set up alternative programs and supported alternative programs and in-school alternatives to suspension. Since these are likely to have some of the same problems highlighted in the review of literature, it is important that they consider their system for support and maintenance of new behaviors; that they examine what the program itself addresses about troubled youth; that they consider what is required in terms of training of personnel in the program and supportive personnel in the system; and that they examine the goals of the program and the future of the youth who will participate.

C. The Nature of Sites

Correctional Facilities and Group Homes

Issues: Unified philosophy and training of staff
Educational program relevant to conventional school and work
Follow-through program

Case Study Reference: Project Site Description

Theoretical Review Reference: The Individual in Interaction with Social Institutions:

- Legitimate Opportunity
- Negative Labeling
- Affiliation
- Altering the Social Structure by Intervening with the Peer Culture
- Vocational Education
- Research on Interventions for Serious Juvenile Offenders

The Individual's Behavior:

- Applications of Behavior Management
- Pre- and Inservice Teacher Training
- Research on Programs Using Behavior Management Techniques

1. Referenced Theories. The theories of blocked opportunity (Cloward and Ohlin, Ogbu), negative labeling (Becker, Johnson et al.), and attachment (Hirschi) indicate that correctional facilities and community-based alternatives to correctional facilities control access to "illegitimate identities" for youth (Polk, 1972). That is, through experiences and contacts in these places youth are typically exposed to more possibilities

for troubled behavior. Feelings of powerlessness, alienation, and stigmatization are increased so that behavior in conventional settings becomes a reaction based on negative perceptions of opportunities and goals. This indicates that the most important change which correctional facilities can make for youth is to show that experience in them can lead to access to conventional identities, and more opportunities for legitimate achievement of socially desirable goals.

In order to accomplish this, the personnel in the institution must share a philosophy that youth can learn how to make responsible decisions, that they can use good judgment in making moral choices, and that their self-concept can be strengthened so they will choose to participate in legitimate activities once they have left the institution. Training the staff in a treatment modality such as Positive Peer Culture or Reality Therapy is a commitment to using the youth themselves as change agents for troubled behavior with staff facilitating groups for therapy.

The practice of sending status offenders to correctional facilities and alternatives to correctional facilities makes it more difficult to change the troubled behavior of that group of youth who are not as yet involved in criminal activity. Community-based alternatives with unified philosophy and training of staff, such as some runaway houses, seem to be a viable alternative to detention centers for this particular group of youth. The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act requires States to comply with the deinstitutionalization of status offenders. Unfortunately, even when placed in community-based alternative settings, runaways and youth who do not get along with their families may be exposed to the same cycle of illegitimate activity and contact with law enforcement. Frequently these places, because of their temporary function, do not have the staff or the organization necessary to give support to healthy development of the youth who are there. Thus the time spent there is not rehabilitative.

As a means of providing access to legitimate identities, a correctional facility and group home need a comprehensive vocational preparation program and an educational program which will be relevant to conventional school-

ing. Youth who leave will then be able to make a transition, assisted by staffing of teachers, counselors, and aftercare workers. These programs should feature:

- Means to achieve goals
- Supportive experience to reinforce those goals
- Discouragement of a delinquent opportunity structure
- Provision of transfer of conventional behavior from training to employment or school.

In educational programs, many techniques have been used, such as individualized instruction, behavior contracts, and point and social reinforcement. Whether the underlying theories have been behavior management (operant conditioning), social learning theory (modeling), or intervening with the peer culture, the results indicate that adequate aftercare programs are most important in continuing academic and social behavior change accomplished within the controlled environment of a correctional facility.

2. Referenced Applications. Behavior management theories have been applied to changing behavior of youth at the National Training School, at Achievement Place, and at the Center for Youth Development and Achievement, all residential facilities. In addition, New Pride and the Providence Educational Center have used a combination of academic, employment, and counseling programs in which small classes, individualized instruction, and carefully planned individual educational programs are guides for youth behavior change.

Examples of the use of a treatment modality such as Positive Peer Culture have been found at Starr Commonwealth. A more confrontive group change process has been found at Elan for hardcore delinquents. Both of these facilities employ the youth's group as a support system once he/she has returned to conventional settings.

In Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects an example of unified training and philosophy of staff can be found at the University of Maine at Orono/

Old Town Project. At the Maine Youth Center, the only correctional facility for youthful offenders in the State, all the personnel from buildings and grounds maintenance, kitchen crew, to teachers and administrators are being trained in Reality Therapy. In addition, the Center has established a core of trainers who will then train aftercare workers, intake juvenile workers, parents, community members, and school personnel. The unification of staff in this treatment modality has been cited as one possible reason for the decrease in runaways from the facility in the past year. The teachers and line workers support each other in expecting commitments from each youth for certain behaviors. Youth are involved from the beginning in planning their behavior choices and goals. The consequences of inappropriate behavior are known to all and are reinforced uniformly.

The Center's educational program offers youth elective courses and opportunities to be trained in a vocational program. Youth 17 years of age were offered the opportunity to participate in a Department of Labor youth training program called Weatherization. This develops skills in weatherizing buildings and pays the youth participants. Those who must make restitution as part of their court disposition can use this money to do so. In addition, they will have learned a skill in a job opportunity area, preparing them to make the transition from correctional facility to conventional work settings. To augment this program, the staff and youth have worked on a Career Resource File with information about industries and private corporations in the community to help youth looking for jobs.

In general the youth in the Center's educational program make progress which surprises teachers in conventional schools. These teachers have little faith that youth who do not read at the appropriate grade level will be able to study the theory of electricity, for example. However, at the Center, the teacher of this course introduces both theory and practice through the use of written and hands-on exercises he has developed for youth who have difficulty reading. The school's English teacher sponsors a literary magazine. Youth in his classes are encouraged to choose work in reading or writing as a focus during their stay.

The teachers credit small classes and the controls of the Center for the motivation of students to work in their classes. One teacher explained that drawing upon characteristics of night school classes, such as informality, had helped him in working with this group of youth. With all this success, including graduation of youth from GED classes, upon their return to conventional school youth from the Center have great difficulty maintaining successful behavior. As an alternative to returning to school, the Center offers Voluntary Educational Placement. This program permits youthful offenders who are released from the Center to return to finish school there and obtain a high school diploma. This is not a viable option for all youth, since many live in different areas of the State and cannot find appropriate transportation to the Center.

Release of youth is managed through a process of absent with leave and intrustment agreements between the Center, youth, and aftercare workers. Youth agree to certain conditions through each phase until complete release is authorized. The aftercare workers who have been trained in Reality Therapy try to enhance success opportunities by giving support to those youth who have returned to their communities. If future efforts to coordinate similar training in these communities are successful, accompanied by involvement of teachers in home schools in the staffing of these youth in transition programs, a strong base for support could be established.

The Group Home sites in the University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Project are making an effort to provide similar training and aftercare for their clients. However, they have many problems, such as rapid turnover of staff and of clients, and lack of coordination of State social service agencies for the assistance of youth.

The small size of the group home staff and clientele, the nature of the client they serve, the devotion of the workers, and rapid burnout make these sites most open to change. The staff look at their participation in Teacher Corps as an opportunity for development. Involvement of the staff in the development of delivery courses and support through retreats and training sessions have helped to revitalize their efforts and professionalize their jobs.

The areas of correctional facilities and group homes seems to offer the most promise to Federal projects addressing the needs of troubled youth. The people who work in these contexts need assistance and are willing to expand their knowledge and skills, particularly if they are involved in the planning and decision-making.

3. Summary. Perhaps the most important emphasis in correctional facility and group home educational and counseling programs for youth should be on the possibility of using the experience to achieve a legitimate identity. It is necessary to connect the theoretically-based treatment modality at these institutions to services and educational programs to which the youth will be returning once released.

Uniting the staff in the application of a theoretically-based program, providing educational opportunities which are realistic in their goals, and developing a follow-through program to assure maintenance of behaviors are important to the success of encouraging youth to find conventional means of establishing legitimate identities.

The Teacher Corps Youth Advocacy Projects address these issues in training of personnel at group homes and correctional facilities. They provide inservice education for teachers in the educational program of a correctional facility which leads to special attention to youth and emphasis on preparation for success in the real world. In group homes, the Projects support the participation of the staff in the development of their own inservice courses, and in their identification of research areas. In both institutions, staff need support for their responsibilities. They must consider why they are in such settings and what they intend to provide for the special needs of their clients. They must consider how their programs address the needs of troubled youth, as do the personnel in conventional schools and alternative programs for troubled youth.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Examine the project's strategies in each of the following areas as they relate to the needs of troubled youth:

   - identification
   - intervention
   - prevention
   - treatment.

2. How can it be determined whether a site program is addressing

   - the cause or effect of troubled youth behavior
   - the disease or the symptoms
   - the problem or our "humanistic" feelings/attitudes toward the problem
   - part of the problem or part of the solution?

   Examine the project in each of these areas.

3. Examine the project's inherent biases or attitudes toward troubled youth: how is the problem addressed, i.e., through isolation, punishment, etc.

4. What values/attitudes/services, etc. are implicit in the titles used, in the terms it uses to describe itself (project title, site programs, sites, and personnel)?

   - What do they communicate to potential participants (students, teachers, funding sources, advocates, community members, legislators, etc.)?

   - Do they accurately reflect what we want communicated about the program?

5. Examine your site program in terms of each of the school characteristics listed below. How have they developed, been maintained, been addressed, or how have they been eliminated?

   - Support for the norms of the majority culture
   - Reliance on coersion
   - Lack of involvement of youth in decision making
   - Impersonality of school environment and alienation by teachers
   - Inconsistent rule application
   - Tracking system
   - Lack of connection between work realities and experiences in school
   - Emphasis on verbal tasks
   - Segregation of youth with learning problems
   - Lack of relevant curriculum, lack of challenge in school work
   - Emphasis on achievement as the key to success in school activities
   - Development of youth competence, instead of adult competence
   - Use of suspensions
   - Lack of contact with parents

6. What areas of school functioning are currently open to youth participation? Parent participation?

   - What additional areas are possible?

   - In each area discuss the short and long term benefits to the youth and to the school and community.

   - How are parents, youth, and school personnel most effectively trained for participation, when, by whom, with what controls, and with what selection criteria for participation?

7. If the program has "student initiated activities," do the students participate in every way? For example, is the teaching mode participatory as well, or are students only involved in planning and administration-related decision-making activities?

8. In designing/planning an alternative program for educating troubled youth, what must be taken into account in determining whether the program should be incorporated into a pre-existing structure (i.e., local school, juvenile detention facility, etc.) or whether a new structure should be built to accommodate the new program?

9. When designing/planning any alternative education program in a school or school district what areas of concern outside of that program should be taken into consideration? For example:

   - voluntary admission or referral
   - impact on non-participants (support/rejection)
   - program attractiveness to non-participants (how do they gain entry; self-identification process, etc.)
   - are values taught culture-bound, transferable, etc.
   - will troubled youth be segregated or integrated from others
   - is the follow-through component established.

10. What are the legal and ethical issues of concern to youth advocacy programs, i.e., confidentiality, funding, community relations, etc?

11. Does the program incorporate long-range and short-term goals? Is goal achievement celebrated? How is this being evaluated?

12. Are the goals realistic?

13. Examine the project's planned outcomes and those achieved. How might these be maintained? What methods might be used?

14. Who are the care-givers? What motivates them? Evaluate those motives from an effectiveness standpoint. How healthy is it for the kids?

D. Personnel In Youth-Serving Institutions

Issues: Knowledge and skills to enhance opportunties for youth success
Nature of participation in enhancing opportunties for youth
Role of Institution of Higher Education in preparation of personnel

Case Study References: Intern Training and Experiences
Teacher Corps Sponsored Inservice Delivery
Project Management
Site Description

Theoretical Review Reference: The Individual in Interaction with Social Institutions:

- Legitimate Opportunity
- Negative Labeling
- Norm Diversity
- Affiliation
- Youth Development
- Educational Programs with Curricular and Structural Changes

The Individual's Behavior:

- Learning Problems
- Applications of Behavior Management
- Human Relations Theory
- Pre- and Inservice Teacher Training

1. Referenced Theories. In general the review of theories has indicated that when tackling the problems of educating troubled youth, personnel in youth-serving contexts should remember that youth are socialized in many different settings, not exclusively in school. Therefore, personnel in all these settings should be a focus of preparation efforts.

The perspective of the individual in interaction with social institutions considers this multiplicity of involvement and holds implications for the adjustment of systems, and the values and beliefs of personnel in them for a change in the nature of this interaction. The perspective of individual behavior change considers skills personnel need in order to change the behavior of youth in different learning contexts. Both these perspectives identify types of knowledge needed to make necessary changes.

The four theories of blocked opportunity (Polk, Ogbu), negative labeling (Johnson et al.), norm diversity (Johnson et al., Polk), and attachment (Polk, Hirschi) indicate that teachers, corrections workers, counselors, and administrators be familiar with the opportunities available for youth and work to include all youth in these opportunities, regardless of learning style, emotional problems, or behavior problems. Youth should not be excluded from activities because they do not meet some arbitrary standard of achievement. Rather all activities should be open to youth to participate at their level, with appropriately challenging tasks.

Encouraging youth participation in their schooling and in its relationship to community needs, recognizing the value of diversity of cultures and learners, increases the opportunity for youth to develop a stake in the success of conventional institutions. Any special learning settings devised to assist youth in changing problem behaviors to successful ones should--within reason--be voluntary. At the same time, personnel who will work with those youth returning to conventional settings should learn that their contribution to interactions is just as important in making the student's experience successful.

Much has been written about the structure of youth-serving institutions, their impersonality, use of controls, and differences between settings. Teachers, probation officers, line workers, and counselors need special skills to adapt to the settings where troubled youth are served. For example, teachers in alternative educational settings may have to learn immediate diagnostic and prescriptive techniques to handle the sudden arrival and needs of youth coming from the courts, streets and schools. Further,

the role of the personnel varies with the setting. Sometimes, in group homes where the staff is small, a reduction in force due to training activities may require personnel to take on counseling or management duties for which they have not been prepared. Depending on the philosophy of the setting, teachers and other personnel may be required to learn new ways of managing materials and environments.

Especially in educational programs which attempt to change academic and/or social behavior, there is a question of the accountability of the personnel. Individual differences in staff application of a treatment modality or philosophy will exist, regardless of unified training. The nature of interactions with different youth will vary, leaving room for differences in effect of the treatment on both youth and staff. It is difficult to assess responsibility or accountability for behavior change, either at the level of the institution or of the individual staff member. Shared definitions of the behavior which must be changed is important; however, this has no meaning if the same definitions are not shared by personnel in the settings to which youth return.

When possible, parents should be included as a resource to staff in settings whether conventional or alternative. Parents can be trained as tutors, and can be advisors in areas of employment and recreation. Parents can be taught to reinforce the philosophy of the program at home. Also, involving parents in the educational process presents the possibility that youth may learn to modify parent behavior which contributes to conflict at home.

Theories of learning (Nelson and Kauffman), moral development (Kohlberg), and cognitive dissonance (Rutherford) indicate that youth can develop healthy abilities to make decisions about their behavior if their teachers learn to facilitate classroom interaction, diagnose learning and behavior problems, and design strategies and environments which increase reinforcement opportunities for the desired behaviors. Personnel working with youth in educational settings are encouraged to use social reinforcement of appropriate behavior to enhance success in verbal tasks and to humanize the relationship between teacher and learner.

In general, personnel in youth-serving institutions need knowledge and skills in these areas:

- The relationship between juvenile justice, school, and community agencies
- Instructional strategies focusing on successful behavior
- Strategies to develop curriculum for all learners
- Techniques of behavioral management and classroom management
- Techniques of consulting with parents--enlisting and training them in reinforcement of behavior change
- Counseling skills
- Experience in identifying one's own tolerance level
- Strategies to enhance success in basic skill areas
- Familiarity with alternative educational programs
- Techniques of alcohol and drug abuse identification and treatment
- Background in adolescent psychology.

There are many opportunities for personnel in youth-serving institutions to participate in acquiring this knowledge and skills.

- Participation in staffing of youth in transition to and from correctional facilities, alternative learning settings and conventional ones
- Linking services with each other to identify needs for training

- Development, delivery, and evaluation of inservice courses
- Participation in the governance of their institutions or agencies
- Participation on discipline committees
- Participation in in-school alternatives to suspension
- Curriculum development for learners with different abilities
- Research on problems they have identified on-site.

In the role of trainer of teachers, counselors, and youth workers, the institution of higher education has a number of concerns. The clients it serves are changing. There are many other settings in which adults can gain skills to enhance their performance on the job and increase their earnings. Churches, community centers, adult education programs, and industry are all getting involved in expanding the knowledge of people and developing, even certifying, their competence. The university, the community college and the private college must now compete for students. Institutions of higher education must consider that people are looking for training in special skills, not exclusively for a general education.

There are options for the university addressing the training of personnel in youth-serving contexts. It can provide more courses which are field-based; it can provide both site-specific and intersite opportunities for training. It may support competency-based teacher and counselor education. If so, it should be with careful validation of the competencies which are written by the faculty for successful teaching or counseling. The institution of higher education can integrate its pre- and inservice delivery design. Combining interns and experienced teachers in courses reduces the cost of offering the same classes twice and provides more exposure for the interns to the concerns of experienced teachers. The institution of higher education can be involved in the support of practitioner involvement in research. Teachers, counselors, youth workers, and proba-

tion officers are all practitioners who see problems in context and can be assisted in identifying them in a way which would be conducive to good research.

2. Referenced Applications. Practitioner involvement in enhancing opportunities for youth have included teacher-sponsored youth participation activities, such as the magazine Foxfire which began in a high school; classes to develop skills in participation--SIA; and teacher participation with students in the development and maintenance of rules as in the Cluster School. Alternative schools such as Each Campus in California demonstrate the changes in relationships which can occur when teachers encourage students to talk about problems which relate to school structure and function.

In community-based alternatives to education and corrections the staff sometimes function as teachers, counselors, and employment counselors. Or teachers will work with specialists to design individualized educational programs for youth to encompass all these aspects of a youth's education, as in New Pride.

Efforts to prepare teachers and parents with special skills to diagnose and remediate behavior problems have included workshops on discipline (LEAST), training for participation in in-school alternatives to suspension (PASS), and PICA in which both youth and parents were taught the principles of behavior management.

The University of Maine at Orono/Old Town Youth Advocacy Project has developed several examples of efforts to include personnel in the development of special training services. For instance, the group home personnel were concerned with the management of their clients' behavior and the identification and treatment of alcohol and drug abuse at their homes. A graduate student from the College of Education worked with the group home staff and developed two courses which introduced adolescent psychology and its application in the motivation of youth and control of acting-out behavior. In both courses participants had the opportunity to describe, role play, and solve situations which occur at their residential settings.

When as a group, the staff of the group homes identified training needs in the areas of alcohol and drug abuse, Teacher Corps provided the support for the staff. Using the services of the Alcohol Institute associated with a treatment facility for recovering alcoholics, the group home line workers will be involved in observations and discussions of treatment, focusing especially on youthful abusers. The staff at the Alcohol Institute visited the group homes in order to gain an understanding of the type of client served there.

In a Teacher Corps Project, the IHE is involved in the training of interns to be teachers in low-income, inner city or rural schools. In traditional teacher training programs, the teacher-interns develop knowledge and skills in the methods and practice of teaching in courses and practica supervised by a faculty member from the discipline of curriculum and instruction. Teacher Corps Projects assign this job of supervision to a teacher from the LEA whose teaching experience qualifies him/her for this supervisory position. The teams of interns, though, present different degrees of experience in the classroom and different educational backgrounds. This may affect their relationship with the team leader and with the community.

Interns who have already achieved certification for teaching may be less willing to participate in the traditional supervisory relationship with the team leader. They may regard the team leader as more of a contemporary than an instructor. Those interns who have been participating members of the community may be more acceptable to the community institutions participating in the project. Their credibility as potential contributors to the community is already established.

Working towards a masters degree in education, the interns are also achieving graduate status at the IHE. Their course load and research requirements are heavy, as is traditional for a graduate program. In those projects where graduate courses, instructional experiences, and community involvement--the three components of an intern's experience--are scheduled at the same time, the intern is not able to focus on effectively completing one or the other of the areas. It seems more effective to alternate per

semester the different areas of experience. Some interns report that when trying to earn certification and taking graduate courses, the most difficult adjustment to make is to their status as student. Others report that the community involvement component is the most difficult to achieve, due to the small number of legitimate opportunities for them in the community and the constraints of their schedules.

Since the interns are in a project with the specific programs to address the needs of troubled youth, they require special preparation efforts. Most teacher training programs do not provide this. Here is where the College of Education and the project staff must decide what is the best preparation--exposure through experience, coursework, or a combination of both.

Interns report that direct exposure to troubled youth is the best means of preparation. They obtain this experience through trips to juvenile court, observation and instructional experiences in shelters, group homes, correctional facilities, and in participation in many project sites where the student populations are different. Alternating between project sites prepares them for successful participation in different social settings. It also gives them a sense of the transitions students must make.

The project supplements this experience by integrating pre- and inservice workshops and courses about developing skills to work with troubled youth. Thus the interns have a forum in which to share their experiences with practitioners and learn from empirical as well as theoretical exposures. The College of Education seems to be the most resistant to change in its teacher training modules. Even though its faculty has access to the latest information about changes in schools, teacher burnout, and pupil populations, it is most difficult to attain some adjustment in the program for teacher training which is suited for these particular interns.

The intern training is only part of the personnel development component of a Youth Advocacy Project. However, the training of the interns is an avenue for change which may have great potential. Interns are committed

to the project for a certain number of years and are uniformly working for certain incentives. Teachers who enroll in inservice courses sponsored by the projects have many reasons, from professional development to job advancement. Many times it is reported that the teachers who are the most involved in the field-based courses are those who are already the most aware of necessary changes, especially those who attend workshops focusing on troubled youth and education that is multicultural.

The number in attendance at these sessions and classes is frequently small, sometimes indicating the varying support among sites for the project-sponsored activities. Theoretically, this small number of attendees will have a minimal impact in the area of changes in school structure, curriculum, and response to troubled youth.

Interns move from site to site expanding the range of contact between practitioners and students that one teacher in one site may have. Interns are a means of bringing groups of personnel into contact with each other as necessary to help a particular student. Therefore, communication between sites may also be expanded. For these reasons, though this component may be but a demonstration of supervision and integrated field-based training, it seems to offer numerous possibilities to fulfill the mandate of a Youth Advocacy Project.

Preparation for teachers in specific skill areas has been very successful in the Youth Advocacy Projects visited for this study. For example, as teachers are frequently called upon by students to listen to and handle problems which are not related to content areas, they are in need of skills in dealing with feelings of the student and their own which come into focus in such interactions. Interpersonal Communication Skills (I-CARE), for teachers, has been developed at the Maine project and is co-taught by a university professor and a teacher who has been a participant in the course. A seminar in which teachers and counselors learn to informally interview each other and students, the course relies on videotaping and interpersonal recall by the participants of the feelings which were experienced during the interview.

Other opportunities for teacher skill development at this project include: stipends to teachers for curriculum development in their content areas, funds for research on problems, such as runaway youth from the Maine Youth Center, and the development of learning packets which can be self-administered for teachers in elementary schools to identify learning problems and develop curriculum for mainstreamed behaviorally disordered and emotionally disordered students.

In order to expand the delivery of services to community persons, parents, and administrators, the Kanawha County/West Virginia University Project has offered a three-part course in Working Positively with Troubled Youth. The course begins by broadening the knowledge of its participants about why youth are troubled, and their feelings and problems. Then it concentrates on supporting parents and personnel in their efforts to find solutions or responses to troubled behavior through discussions of examples, identification of community resources, and specific techniques of behavior management.

This workshop had the unique feature of authorized field trips with representatives of community agencies to settings in which services are provided for youth and their families. Further, youth at Cabell Youth Advocacy Center participated in a panel which addressed issues of troubled behavior and appropriate educational settings for youth who are troubled. Teachers participating in the workshop were provided facilities in which information could be shared with school administrators about particular students, with confidentiality. The effort to attract many different groups who work with and who are concerned with troubled youth is appropriate for the mandate of the Youth Advocacy Projects to base delivery of education within the community and to involve the community in the educational process.

Frequently special workshops are held for personnel already in place in youth-serving institutions, without including student interns assigned to these contexts. In the Arizona State University Project interns assigned to the project site schools are participating in the team training with the School Improvement Teams at their site schools. This integration

of training promotes an understanding of the individual goals of different role groups in the school. Without this, an intern may only be exposed to a cooperating teacher or to a counselor for whom the intern is an apprentice. This training places the intern on an equal decision-making status with school personnel, permitting intern contributions to program development and policy development. This seems to be valuable training--to understand how the system of the school works--in preparation for entering the system as a beginning teacher or counselor.

The linking of youth-serving agencies is one explicit goal of all the Youth Advocacy Projects. An exciting example of this commitment was the Networking Teleconference which was organized with help from the Arizona State University Project and sponsored by a Youth Advocacy Loop Task Force. This conference involved telephone and television hook-ups of Youth Advocacy Projects all over the country. The projects enlisted the participation of representatives of youth-serving agencies to discuss how their services could be integrated to serve youth in trouble. Case studies of youth were used to demonstrate the acuteness of the problem of too many services and not enough assistance. In many of the communities served by the different projects interagency staffing is being considered and practiced. In others, agencies are still working on organizing and integrating services.

The integration of services seems to be one of the most promising efforts which can be made, if we consider that youth are educated and socialized in many different settings. Research has shown that training teachers in special skills and then using these for behavior change does not produce lasting or global results, such as a decrease in delinquency. There will always be disagreement about the antecedents of delinquency. If systems do not change and delinquency remains a factor in the experience of many youth, then integrated sources of support for youth is certainly indicated.

3. Summary. The personnel development component of the Youth Advocacy Project has the most potential to increase awareness, knowledge and skills

of personnel working with troubled youth. Research and literature on theory is informative concerning all the skills needed to work with these youth effectively and the changes in the structure of the settings in which youth are educated. Personnel in these settings may be called upon to assume new roles without much notice, make immediate diagnoses of behavior problems, respond to situations with flexibility, and share accountability with others to the philosophy and goals of their program. These requirements are in addition to teaching their content area, participating in school or program activities, developing a sense of the value of their professional status.

For those teacher-interns who are learning about the system of education and how to work within it, the preparation for working with specific populations of youth needs to be focused and adaptable to the variety of settings in which troubled youth are educated.

The IHE, LEA, and project staff coordinates and provides opportunities, resources, and preparation. This is an extraordinary expectation of two systems known to be resistant to change. Yet they must be aware of the changing needs of their clients, the necessity of involving practitioners in research and course development. The project staff coordinates and attends some of the workshops and field-based courses. They should be participants, taking from the project activities the experience to work with troubled youth as practitioners or administrators. The personnel development component should focus on the issue of the caregivers: what they bring to their jobs, what they expect to take away, how they are interacting with the program environment to affect the lives of those youth in the program.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the most critical individual (i.e., project staff, Council and Board members, etc.) and/or organizational (i.e., IHE, LEA) training/retraining needs as they relate to the education of troubled youth?

2. Describe the knowledge base, attitudes, and competencies necessary for teacher educators, policy makers, teachers, and administrators of programs aimed at the education of troubled youth. How do the particular activities supported by your project reflect the competencies of personnel? What do they require of personnel that they do not have? What changes do they require of institutions?

3. What important learnings can be attributed to staff participation in a project? What implications do these have on improvement of teacher training, teaching practice, the process of effecting change in schools and universities, research, policy, and program goals and strategies?

4. What learnings from Teacher Corps experiences can be used by other federal/state/local agencies in terms of implementing legislation and of working with agencies at other levels?

5. Write a job description profiling the requirements and characteristics necessary for the Youth Advocacy Project Director position. Consider the following categories:

   - Ideal background
   - Stage in career
   - Necessary skills and knowledge
   - Describe the limits and opportunities of the director in project functions
   - What should be the director's reason for wanting the job? Evaluate the benefits of each.
   - Describe the advantages and disadvantages of having someone who is already well known in the local education community.
   - What are the effects of the position on the director's career? What are the trade-offs (personal and professional)?

6. How does the director interpret his/her role? How does that affect project functioning, structure, activities, and morale?

7. What does Teacher Corps involvement prepare project staff members for? Where can they go from here?

8. How do the values and attitudes of the LEA affect the opportunities of interns?

III. CRITICAL REVIEWS

A REVIEW OF THEORY, PROGRAMS, AND RESEARCH ON THE EDUCATION OF TROUBLED YOUTH

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This review is based on my experience, over the past 15 years, as a teacher, teacher trainer, and researcher in the area of behavioral disorders. Although the definition of emotionally disturbed adopted by the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped for implementation of PL 94-142 specifically excludes the "socially maladjusted," I regard this distinction as arbitrary and artificial. The problem behavior of children and youth may or may not bring them into conflict with the law, and may result in application of the label, juvenile delinquent. Similarly, labeled delinquents may or may not manifest emotional disorders. The term behavioral disorders, adopted by the Council for Children with Behavioral Disorders (the major professional organization of teachers working with this population), was selected because it shifted emphasis from underlying pathology to overt behavior, which alleviates many problems inherent in attempts to diagnose and label emotional disorders (Kauffman, 1977; Ross, 1975). Delinquency also is defined by overt behavior which results in action by the legal system. Depending upon the context in which it occurs, the same behavior (e.g., aggression) may be used to identify a youth as behaviorally disordered or delinquent.

In my view, the problem of delivering effective services to troubled youth supercedes that of differentially diagnosing an adolescent as emotionally disturbed or socially maladjusted. The time spent in diagnosis seldom results in more effective treatment. Furthermore, the label resulting from this process allows treatment agency personnel to abrogate responsibility by claiming that particular youth do not belong to the "population" served by that agency. By the time many behaviorally disordered children reach

adolescence, they have been given several different labels by various treatment agencies. All too often, there has been little or no effective communication among these agencies.

Therefore, the following comments are applicable to the broad population of children and youth manifesting behavioral disorders, although my focus will be on those whose behavior brings them to the attention of the legal system. Some readers may object to this lack of diagnostic purity. However, my reviews of the literature on the behavior problems of adolescents, and of educational programs for them (Nelson, in press; Nelson and Kauffman, 1977; Nelson and Polsgrove, in press), do not indicate that differential diagnosis is valid or useful.

Significance of Theories Presented

The sociological perspective on juvenile delinquency has yielded a number of insights into this phenomenon. In my opinion, the most important general concept is that delinquency arises in a complex social milieu, and is supported by a distinct sub-culture, which may range from a peer group to an entire community. In general, lower class culture has been cited as influencial in the development and maintenance of delinquency (Miller, 1968). The ethological studies of Miller, and of Stumphauzer and his colleagues (Aiken, Stumphauzer, and Veloz, 1977; Stumphauzer, Aiken, and Veloz, 1977) are exemplary in that they have explicated several variables which appear to be directly related to delinquent behavior: conformity to the values of a peer group; modeling of behavior; indirect reinforcement by families, private citizens, and even the police. These investigators do not support the concept of "normlessness," in that they show that delinquent behavior frequently represents conformity to the norms of a deviant culture.

Efforts to alter delinquent behavior which do not take into account these social milieu variables are likely to fail; yet, the predominant treatment approach has been to remove the delinquent from his/her community to a segregated treatment setting, where treatment focuses on changing specific

behaviors or altering personality variables. A classic series of studies by Buehler, Patterson, and Furniss (1966) demonstrated that in such settings, peer reinforcement and pressure may be prepotent over the treatment regime, which may only more deeply ingrain patterns of socially maladaptive behavior. Even when treatment is effective in such settings, after the client has been returned to the social milieu from which he or she was removed, delinquent behavior patterns frequently return, because the controlling variables in the natural environment have not been affected.

Consequently, both the prevention and treatment of delinquency ultimately require changing the social milieu which supports it. This requires impacting on the home, the school, the peer group, and the community. The task is awesome, but our ability to analyze and apply interventions to these variables is improving dramatically. In particular, treatment and research within the individual perspective has been most promising. Applied behavioral analysis (operant conditioning) has provided not only a powerful treatment technology, but also a system for analyzing and documenting functional relationships between delinquent behavior and its environmental antecedents and consequences within the settings listed above. This technology has enabled researchers like Stumphauzer to functionally analyze the relationship between delinquent behaviors and their controlling variables in the natural environment. The difficulties observed in maintaining and generalizing treatment effects are not attributable to deficiencies in the applied behavior analysis model, but rather, to problems in controlling the responses of those persons and agencies in the natural environment after youth return from segregated treatment facilities. Tharpe and Wetzel (1969) developed a model for implementing and evaluating applied behavior analysis interventions with troubled youth <u>in situ</u>. Their work has influenced the efforts of many others, including Stumphauzer, and a technology of behavioral maintenance and generalization is rapidly developing (see Stokes and Baer, 1977).

At the same time, I should point out that research seeking to identify the causes of delinquency in personological variables (e.g., physiology, self-concept), has not proven fruitful (Kauffman, 1977; Nelson and Pols-

grove, in press). While such causal links may indeed exist, the problems of measurement and controlling for confounding variables have rendered most of this research inapplicable. It is far more productive to identify causes in specific antecedents and consequences to delinquent behavior.

A theoretical perspective which I have found useful, but which was not included in the review is the ecological model. Ecological theory (Rhodes, 1967; 1970; Rhodes and Tracy, 1973) has been used to conceptualize emotional disturbance, but it is equally applicable to delinquency. This model characterizes a behavior problem as a transaction occurring between the behavior and significant others in his/her environment. This is in opposition to the traditional view that the problem is a "characteristic" owned exclusively by the individual. The ecological conceptualization is very compatible with the functional analysis approach employed in operant conditioning, in that the environment is subjected to as careful scrutiny as the individual's behavior. In addition, ecological theory stresses assessment of the individual's "microcommunities" or living units (home, school, community, etc.) to identify where disturbed/delinquent transactions are occurring, as well as where they are not. This assessment also seeks to discover areas of strength within the individual, as well as persons, agencies, etc. which may be incorporated into the treatment plan.

Combining the technology of applied behavioral analysis with ecological theory would enable researchers and practitioners to assess, within each of an individual's microcommunities: 1) specific problem behaviors; 2) antecedents and consequences of these behaviors; 3) persons controlling the consequences or reinforcers of delinquent behaviors (and of adaptive behaviors which compete with these); and 4) behavioral strengths exhibited by the individual in each of his/her microcommunities. Thus, these theories provide a systematic framework for analyzing the context in which delinquent behavior occurs, as well as for treatment planning, implementation, and evaluation.

Application of the Theories Presented

The emphasis given to the pernicious effects of labeling in the review is well-placed. The practice of labeling clients in order to assign them to treatment categories and agencies has been perpetuated by the highest levels of government on down. Since most treatment agencies receive funds on the basis of the number of individuals labeled and in need of service, these agencies have a vested interest in maintaining diagnostic categories. Furthermore, where client populations overlap (as in the case of juvenile delinquents and the so-called emotionally disturbed), there may be competition between agencies for available funds, and/or unnecessary duplication of services. As mentioned previously, troubled youth often come to the attention of several agencies. These agencies tend to operate in isolation from one another, resulting in confusion regarding to which population an adolescent belongs, which agency is responsible for treatment, as well as which treatment plan should be followed. Labels also are used by such agencies as an excuse for excluding youth from programs. Thus, a child labeled delinquent by a court may not be eligible for a program serving the emotionally disturbed, even though the individual's behavior problems may be very similar to those of youth in the latter program. Labeling also perpetuates a system of interventions, particularly in schools, which are "place" oriented. That is, once an individual has been identified and labeled, s/he becomes ineligible for the regular program and is moved to one designated as "special." The label certifies the youth as belonging to a population which cannot be "treated" by the regular school staff. The adolescent is referred, diagnosed, and removed to a special setting, frequently never to return. While PL 94-142 has had some impact on retaining elementary age handicapped pupils in the educational mainstream, it has little or no effect on secondary school practices. Secondary school programs for behaviorally disordered youth tend to be segregated--self-contained classes, special (alternative) schools, residential centers, or simply exclusion (see Nelson, 1977; Nelson and Kauffman, 1977).

Accordingly, a major policy recommendation I would offer is to abolish labeling. This policy, of course, would be enormously difficult to imple-

ment. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated in several states (e.g., Minnesota, Vermont) that program funding for handicapped pupils can be based on services rather than the number of children identified and labeled. If this policy were adopted by Federal, State, and local funding agencies, there would be much less incentive to stereotype youth members of a population. Rather, the emphasis could be shifted to the provisions of services (e.g., crisis intervention, employment counseling, parent training, neighborhood youth programs, alternative education programs) which could be made available to all children and youth, and to working on problematic behaviors. Such a major shift in orientation would take time, and perhaps it would prove impossible to overcome the habit of characterizing individuals as members of psychological populations. However, given what is known about labeling this change seems long overdue and worth the effort.

Another policy recommendation is to require accountable and valid evaluation designs as a condition of program funding. Existing projects frequently espouse vague or unmeasurable goals, and/or employ dependent measures which fail to match these goals or constitute indirect, unreliable measures. Programs also tend to lack consistent and thorough data collection on the variables of primary importance, and either have no plans for, or no follow-through or long term follow-up of clients served. Often, this data is difficult to obtain, particularly on a group as mobile as older adolescents. However, just as often, readily available data is overlooked. For example, one alternative school aims to keep youth in school and off the streets, yet the school does not use daily attendance data to evaluate problems in detail elsewhere (Nelson, 1977; Nelson and Kauffman, 1977). Existing programs, as well as proposed projects, should be evaluated against the criteria implied in the foregoing paragraph. Comparative evaluation of different program models which address similar goals also should be accomplished. Policy makers then would be in a position to make program funding decisions more on the basis of empirical findings than political considerations.

Another critical area for analysis is the problem of generalization and maintenance of treatment effects, mentioned previously. Even in treatment studies employing applied behavior analysis technology, the most common approach has been to train the individual, then merely hope his/her new behavior will maintain after treatment, and generalize to extra-treatment settings (Stokes and Baer, 1977). There are methods of programming for behavior maintenance and generalization, and these should be systematically tested in work with delinquents.

In the area of teacher training, there is much to be done. At the preservice level, secondary school teachers are prepared to teach subject matter, not pupils. Their lack of preparation in the principles of human behavior and in positive classroom management strategies facilitates the tendency to stereotype difficult pupils as unmotivated, retarded, emotionally disturbed, and the like. The school system is ready to support such stereotypes with its refer-and-remove policy. Shuffling youth off to special programs never will help teachers learn to deal with them.

This problem is compounded by the lack of training school administrators, counselors, and other support staff also have in the area of working with difficult adolescents. Furthermore, many of these personnel do not see themselves in a role supporting the classroom teacher. Instead of helping teachers solve problems, too frequently they help them remove problem students, or they condemn them as incompetent teachers seeking help.

Preservice training of both groups of personnel in the areas of the principles of behavior, individualization of instruction, working with parents and community agencies, and evaluating the effects of teaching will help, but inservice training of school staff also is needed if the behavior of educators-in-training is to generalize and maintain once they are on the job. Present attempts at inservice training often fail to overcome negative school practices because those requesting such training define the problem and prescribe the solution. For example, an administrator may observe that English teachers in a building or district are having problems with lower-class pupils. He or she may define the problem as the teachers'

lack of ability to identify slow-learning or emotionally disturbed children, and request a workshop on identification and referral procedures.

Learning these procedures then reinforces the refer-and-remove practice, and the teachers have not learned more effective methods of managing student behavior. While some success has been realized in special programs because of specially trained staff, special goals and methods, etc. the educational mainstream is not prepared to take youngsters back; hence, most stay in segregated settings until they "graduate" or drop out of school. The attitudes and expectations of regular school personnel need to be refocused, in addition to the skill training in the areas described above.

I am in complete agreement with the conclusion that the schools constitute part of the problem with respect to troubled youth. My students and I have worked with many classroom teachers whose lack of instructional skill and poor management practices have exacerbated or even created behavior problems. I also feel that future efforts should focus on changing the social systems which impinge on the lives of all youth. In particular, change efforts should be directed at the juvenile justice system, social work and other treatment agencies, and, of course, schools. In the latter area, much attention is needed in terms of inservice teacher training, alternative education programs for all youth, multicultural education, parent communication and training, and in developing community involvement in the schools.

There also is a critical need for longitudinal research of "delinquent" communities, to identify causal factors and treatment methods which address the social variables which spawn delinquent behavior. The work of Stumphauzer is illustrative of the effort needed. Treatment studies should employ single-subject experimental designs, which provide the necessary precise control over confounding variables (Hersen and Barlow, 1976). I also recommend that studies focus on overt behavior (e.g., school vandalism, truancy, aggression, theft, etc.) as opposed to underlying constructs or psychopathology.

Treatment of Issues

I hope the issues I see as critical are apparent from my previous comments. However, here I wish to highlight the following as deserving immediate and specific attention:

1. Multiagency coordination. The problems of duplication of services, interagency competition for clients and funds, lack of accountability, unwieldly treatment planning, and lack of communication among agencies all require that policies and strategies be developed to insure greater continuity across social service agencies. An alternative which should be given serious consideration is to eliminate or combine some agencies, which may reduce the bureaucratic red tape and top-heavy administrative structures which characterize many social service agencies.

2. Comparison of the effectiveness of segregated versus integrated treatment programs. Research in this area should attempt to determine which approach is more cost-effective for which purposes (prevention, treatment, maintenance and generalization of treatment effects). Comparative evaluation research would require some degree of standardization of program goals and dependent measures, which is a formidable task. It also is likely that such research will demonstrate the need for a full continuum of services, ranging from treatment *in situ* to residential placement. But perhaps this research will help establish empirical guidelines for determining which type of problems or situations are best treated at which level of the continuum. I predict that the monetary savings from answering these questions would be significant.

3. Community involvement in the schools. Many schools operate in isolation from the local community. Busing has contributed to this isolation, in that it has all but destroyed the concept of the neighborhood school. Nevertheless, communities still have a

stake in their public schools, and parents still are interested in their children's school careers. Ways must be explored to re-establish linkages among schools and parents, social agencies, and community groups. Furthermore, schools must be accountable to the public, which means that citizens should be informed as to what is going on in schools and what results to expect in their children.

4. Pre- and inservice teacher training. Basically, what is needed here is a reorientation of school staff, so they view their role as that of a support system for youth. Higher level staff, furthermore, should see themselves as a support system for classroom teachers, and function in this manner, instead of as bureaucrats, who have little direct involvement in teaching. Such training also should seek to eliminate labeling and exclusionary practices.

5. Generalization and maintenance of behavior. This issue has been raised repeatedly in my review, but I feel it deserves disproportionate attention. Unless schools and treatment agencies can return youth to their natural environment with some assurance that adaptive behavior patterns will persist, there is little hope of dealing successfully with this social problem in the long run. Efforts to improve interagency coordination, increase community involvement, and improve the quality of teacher education also will enhance generalization and maintenance effects.

Further Research

Again, I believe my previous comments have indicated some areas in which more research is needed. The following points summarize the views espoused earlier.

1. The etiology (or etiologies) of delinquent behavior. Questions to be asked in this area include: What social conditions or cir-

cumstances predict the development of delinquent behavior patterns? In which youth are these influences likely to be greatest? What are the effects of the peer group, school experiences, family variables, and so forth on the development of delinquent behavior? The research strategy I recommend for these questions consists of ethological data collection, with longitudinal research designs in which youth are identified and tracked for several years. Stumphauzer's work in the East Los Angeles Barrio should be replicated in other cities and other cultural settings.

2. A comparison of the effects of various treatment strategies. What types of individual casework are effective? What methods are most valid? Are group programs more cost-effective treatment of individuals? Are integrated programs better than segregated? Is there an optimal match between treatment approach and demographic or clinical characteristics of clients? Answers to these questions would entail a wide variety of research designs and strategies, ranging from single-subject to groups-within-treatments designs. The ultimate goal of such research would be not only to assess the relative efficacy of various programs, but to determine the contribution of specific components of multi-element treatment packages. Coordination of treatment goals across agencies and programs is an important prerequisite to meaningful research in this area.

3. Identifying and controlling variables influencing the maintenance and generalization of treatment effects. What factors mitigate against or facilitate such effects? Which persons or environmental circumstances critically influence maintenance and generalization? Can these variables be controlled in the natural environment? Can maintenance and generalization be programmed? Is there an optimal period for such programming to occur? The answers to these questions would involve longterm follow-up studies and single-subject research designs in the natural environment.

All of these research strategies are expensive. However, compared to the costs of continuing to provide services which have no beneficial effect, or for which the effects are not evaluated, or to return "treated" individuals to "untreated" environments with no training in how to adapt without resorting to delinquent behavior, as well as to ignore socio-cultural variables contributing to the development and maintenance of delinquent behavior patterns, is, in my view, more than costly--it is negligent. Delinquency is a complex social problem which requires a major commitment of public policy and resources. I hope we will find it in our best interests to make this commitment.

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TOWARD AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF TROUBLED YOUTH: IDENTIFICATION, SOCIALIZATION AND MARGINALIZATION

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We are haunted by ghosts we cannot see, but whose presence we feel. So we lock our doors and turn on lights more for our comfort than anything else. Deep down we fear these efforts are merely futile. We do what we can and settle for restless sleep.

The ghosts in our case are the fundamental causes or origins of troubled youth. These generators of psychological distress and social deviance remain shrouded even after years of research. We do what we can by treating the symptoms as they arise. But we remain haunted.

Theoretical Relevance

Clearly, there is not a comprehensive theory that adequately unveils the causes of distress and deviance among our youth. Rather three competing views exist. The first holds that delinquency resides within the individual. The second asserts that delinquency is born and expressed as individuals interact within face-to-face situations. The third argues that delinquency is a dispairing result of social and economic structures that stretch beyond a single community. As interventions associated with these viewpoints are implemented, the value of their theoretical foundations is tested. Evidence reviewed in Volume IV suggests that each viewpoint is partially true, but that none is sufficiently comprehensive to capture the complexities of troubled youth.

An integrated theory can be built by identifying components essential to each viewpoint, components that interrelate and mesh together. Only the beginning points of such an integrated theory can be suggested in this brief essay.

The cornerstone of any young person's behavior is the identity they develop for themselves. Their identity includes a conception of their worth (self-concept) and a set of expectations about their place in the world (motivation). These factors are keys to the psychological viewpoints summarized in Volume IV. The process of identification--how one develops an identity--is fundamental to understanding any human behavior, including the distress and deviance that characterize our troubled youth. The importance of identity in school participation is shown by Metz (1978) and McPherson (1972). The process of identification would be a fruitful area for research on delinquency and would likely suggest particular interventions. What identities do troubled youth hold for themselves? How are they developed? How can they be modified? Since the process of identification does not take place in isolation, a focus on identification naturally leads to concerns about the individual's relationships with others. Thus, identification links to a second fundamental process -- socialization.

Socialization is a life-long process through which individuals establish harmonious behaviors with important social groups in their life. To become socialized into a particular group is to identify with that group and accept its norms for behavior and thought. Research cited in these Youth Advocacy Training Resources has documented competing socialization groups in and out of school--one associated with school achievement and positive relations with formal institutions; the other associated with school failure and disruptive relations with formal institutions. Research should also focus on the socialization of educators and justice workers who work with troubled youth, especially as it affects their perceptions and behavior toward their clients. For example, Elizabeth Eddy's (1969) study Becoming A Teacher shows that the socialization process stimulates a concern for order among young teachers and tends to restrict ways in which they deal with individual students.

The origins of delinquency that arise from an individual's interaction with social groups can be addressed through close attention to both identification and socialization. Since socialization takes place primarily in face-

to-face encounters, a concern for socialization will bring to attention the structures that affect group formation and operation. This will form a link to a third fundamental process.

Marginalization is a social and economic process through which groups are relegated to or maintained in the margins of a society. Here they are largely cut off from society's resources and suffer disproportionately from inadequate schooling, medical services and employment opportunities. Through marginalization certain youth are separated from others. Facing limited opportunities and restricted access to society's fruits, they develop identities and participate in socialization groups that are socially adaptive to their situation, but which separate them further from others and solidify lines of difference (Ogbu, 1978). Research on marginalization, particularly as it affects identification and socialization patterns can provide further insights into the causes of youthful distress and deviance.

The processes of identification, socialization and marginalization can provide the basis for an integrated theory of troubled youth that includes concerns ranging from the individual to society's prominent structures. The complex nature of troubled youth requires this inclusive view.

Theoretical Applications

An integrated theory of troubled youth suggests that a combination of interventions will be more useful than reforms based on only one view. Since the fundamental origins of delinquency range from individual differences to society's divisions of wealth and power, multiple points of intervention would be appropriate. There appears to be no single cause and effect relationship that completely explains troubled youth; only our impulse to apply physical science metaphors to social problems can explain our continued search for the one answer, the one cause, the one light that will fully illuminate the ghosts that trouble us so.

Local, State, and Federal projects should include a combination of programs that address the categories of identification, socialization and marginalization together. Admittedly, the call for comprehensiveness runs contrary to a tendency among policy makers and directors who prefer limited and tightly focused projects. Limited interventions will achieve limited results, nothing more should be expected.

Projects for troubled youth will certainly vary, as they should. The particular strategies they use may not be as important as the spread those strategies achieve over the multiple causes of delinquency. Any number of approaches could be combined in a conceptually sound program. In the area of identification a project could follow the lines of self concept (Gold, 1978), motivation (Csikszentmihalyl and Larson, 1978) or decision making (Rutherford, 1976).

In the area of socialization the project might include a concern for labeling (Johnson et al., 1979), isolation (Polk, 1972), subculture participation (Phillips, 1972; Shultz, 1977), or bonding and control (Hirschi, 1969). To address marginalization a project could seek to modify opportunity structures and the allocation of resources within a community. Such a modification would in turn affect socialization and identification processes. However, as Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1976) point out, reducing marginalization requires social and economic policies that go beyond most educational programs. Without reducing marginalization, one can expect its pernicious effects to continue (Ogbu, 1978).

Beyond the above programmatic suggestions, two points regarding program implementation need to be raised. First, by proposing an integrated theory of troubled youth and a corresponding intervention approach, I have combined a liberal concept of social reform and a more radical one. In doing so conflicting definitions of social change have been introduced; one views social change as adjustments within the status quo, the other views social change as a transformation of the status quo (Emoungu, 1980). These competing concepts of change and their reform objectives seem to be warrented, even though they engender ambiguities in program planning and implementa-

tion. Conscientious efforts to solve the problems of troubled youth require changes in both individual/group behavior and the larger structures that ultimately affect that behavior. If this approach contains theoretical tension, let it be so.

Secondly, the general climate of our society will greatly affect the ways we view and seek to help troubled youth. Recently, Barbara Brenzel (1980) and William Reese (1980) have written insightful historical case studies of how reform efforts for young people have been shaped by surrounding social conditions and ideological conflicts.

Currently a conservative mood reigns in education. After a hundred years of the school serving as a panacea for social reform (Perkinson, 1968), the public and some educators are now claiming that schools are trying to do too much. They feel that the school should no longer seek to solve society's problems, that the school should stick to what it can do best -- basic instruction. Typifying the current mood Neil Postman (1979, p. 110) writes: "If you heap upon the school all of the problems that the family, the church, the political system, and the economy cannot solve, the school becomes a kind of well financed garbage dump, from which very little can be expected except the unsweet odor of failure." If our educational vision becomes more restricted, the flexibility and imagination needed to deal effectively with troubled youth may be shut out.

Another feature of our society forces itself to my attention. As I write this essay, ABC radio news carries a report that admissions to South Carolina's mental health facilities are skyrocketing. Officials are blaming the influx on the current recession that has increased unemployment and generated financial distress among the underemployed. This is a sign of troubled times for adults and youth as well.

Key Issues

Of the many issues raised by the literature review in Volume IV, two issues seem to be most important at a general level: commitment and experimentation.

We know that a variety of programs designed to help troubled youth do work, at least partially. Yet these programs are not common in our communities, except when a special project is supported by outside funds. At question is society's commitment to aiding youth who do not fit into the mainstream, who do not seem to "get along." The troubles they face are considered to be their fault, or perhaps the fault of their families. A common sentiment is that they should assume the blame and the costs for remediation.

In some ways this is like blaming poor people for being poor. It is a ridiculous point of view, but one that is prevalent even in a country that praises the ideals of christianity and democracy.

A problem that faces us all is building a broad based concern for our youth, especially those in trouble. If anything, our social awareness is growing dim in the 1980's. Social commentators such as Christopher Lasch (1979) are calling this an age of diminishing expectations, i.e., our faith in social improvement is diminishing not our drive for personal advantage. Special efforts for troubled youth will not fare well in this environment. This is especially true when such an outlook is combined with a fiscal conservatism, as it is today.

Apart from a societal commitment that should be addressed through public relations and political campaigns, the commitment of our youth serving institutions should be scrutinized. Do they have the concern and resolve to pursue alternative services for troubled youth? Schools, and other institutions, are geared toward serving the ideal client through routinized procedures. They have a poor record of serving others, as shown in the Children's Defense Fund study Children Out of School in America (1974). Changing the ingrained habits of schooling and establishing more flexible programs will be difficult (Sarason, 1971), but not impossible. A true commitment to troubled youth within our institutions requires more than rhetoric, it requires guts to do things differently and cooperation among all concerned.

Not only should our commitment spur us to action, it should also challenge us to build a knowledge base that guides our efforts. In this regard, the review of theory and applications in Volume IV provides a good beginning. From here we need a theoretical base that ties to program implementation. Through a series of programmatic experiments we can gain knowledge of what really works under what conditions. This "practical" information will also provide for theoretical refinement. Thus, experimentation follows commitment.

I have outlined three components of a suggested integrated theory and proposed research pertinent to each component. This is the beginning I would choose. There are others, of course.

I certainly applaud Teacher Corps for its concern and investment in the area of troubled youth. I worked as a Teacher Corps intern (1970-72) in the central city of Tampa, Florida as a mathematics teacher. Many of the perceptions I have today about the world of young people were shaped by that experience.

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